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[For a few brief historical notes on Morocco from the mid 16th century to 1912, see the MX3 Rif file, 5: Blanco Izaga, Category 116, pp. 16-18.]

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzin, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

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tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Riffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamza*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zuwāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», **The Sociological Review**, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

holders in the new protectorate administrations were given different titles in each zone, one is nonetheless tempted to imagine that their "job descriptions" must have resembled each other closely.

There was, however, one very important difference: the French administration was only partially military in character, while the Spanish one (except during the civilian years of the Spanish Republic, 1931-1936) was, to all intents and purposes, totally so. Indeed, one of the major roles of Spanish Morocco, one which was always assumed but seldom explicitly mentioned, was that of acting as a training ground for the Spanish Army. Hence the history of the protectorate and its up-and-down support and opposition in the Iberian Peninsula, which is not our concern here, is more closely linked to that of Spain itself than that of French Morocco is to metropolitan France.

Only the initial blueprints for the administration of the Spanish Zone were laid down in 1912-1913, however, because the pacification of the protectorate had to be taken care of before any ground rules could be made to apply in a positive manner. In grossly simplified terms, this involved first the subjugation (on a back-and-forth basis) of the notorious holy man-cum-bandit Raisuni and his cohorts in the Jbala region in 1913-1920; then the far more serious task of putting down (with French help) 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifians in 1921-1926; and finally, the mopping-up of the last pockets of resistance in the Sinhaja Srir and Ghmara areas, in the center of the zone, and between the Jbala and the Rif, in 1926-1927. Hence full-scale implementation of the new administrative structure could not begin until total tribal disarmament had been completed, in July 1927.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

● 648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 799 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

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[619] H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

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131 1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
● 648 [186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619 648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
114 619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

175 554 unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, 175 648 554 because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

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The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

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'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hammada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamun ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
● 648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Thaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
648 Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
554 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917), the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

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554 back to Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim's capital in the Aith Waryaghar lowlands. 'Abd al-Krim let him return to live with his family and gave his son Si Hmid his freedom; but, furious at the capture of the Mahkama of Brabir (---Branis?), he got rid of the old man permanently by giving him a glass of poisoned tea at the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth (Aith Waryaghar).[178] Si Hmid was detained during the occupation of Marnisa by French Moroccan troops and then set free in January 1926. He lives today (1940) in the Igzinnayen[179], and has a sister, Mimuna, married to the former qa'id and present (1940) khalifa of Arba' n Turirth, Muh n 'Amar nj-Mqaddim; and this woman, probably because of the spirit she inherited from her father, is the real ruler of the household.[180]

It should be stated that the irreducible enemy of the Biqqish family, the Qa'id Finnish of Iharrasen, died in combat on May 11, 1926, against the French in Izkrithen (in the Asht 'Asim) near Ikhwanen; he had been a principal cause of the persecution and death of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish, through his influence with 'Abd al-Krim.

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as "institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 104 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character. Nuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 114 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

● 648 677 668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course, by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

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[114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p. 194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

[648]

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

623 631 131 443 [646] 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north [648] to Thanasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 562 [113] 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are for- [191] bidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. 443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the 562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a 114 greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

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[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 621 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 ● 648 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

(648) 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [514] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 ● 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

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15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

423 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, dis-
● 648 heartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplat-
ing the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some
648 Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years
124 ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal
[203] land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the
tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some
of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of
this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them.
Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true?
I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classifica-
tion with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with
the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classifi-
cation of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort,
tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is
made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This
patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is
that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and
fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known
owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly
worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be par-
celled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands
should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to
meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden

from the individual member and, today, to subvention the most urgent needs of worship abandoned by the central authorities.

The Statute of the Jma'th

My long sojourns in tribal territory, at different levels of command, and my stumbling upon the jma'ath, surprised me at first, then made me take a second look, and finally made me appreciate them. The Rifian and the European (Spanish) authorities will find only profit in the observation, reception and revitalization of this institution. Whoever does not know the "play" of the jma'ath or does not utilize it is either building on sand or will become a despot whose alarms will disturb him and whose labors will not survive. I have reflected many times upon how little or nothing would remain, in case of a new revolt against all our improvisations and innocent classifications. No matter how many times the Rifian has declared himself to be in a state of rebellion, he has returned to take refuge in his jma'th with an extraordinary atavism which nothing would indicate has disappeared.[16]

For this reason I believe that any new legislative measure must aim at providing a channel in which the activity of the jma'th can develop, providing these localized political groupings with official status and interesting them in active collaboration (with the administration); and thus might be avoided the fact that they might torpedo the Makhzin's decisions. What is needed is to recognize that they have a personality and, in a word, to strengthen them, instead of ignoring

[669] [648] 16--In view of the events of the Aith Waryaghar rebellion against the central authorities of Independent Morocco in 1958-1959, this is a highly prophetic remark.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5],
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
000 to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

000 was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after

628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

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65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). A What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. 701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor
their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and
security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10]
administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for
coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and
dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13],
markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the
Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances,
which they would do until another more powerful force from outside,
such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in re-
ducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups
when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of in-
dividual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threaten-
616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
[614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 173 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

● 618 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

● [648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst]
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616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

671 clarify to us the efforts of one of the freest peoples to handle their own affairs and, jealous of their rights in an authentic democracy, to impose notions of conduct upon themselves voluntarily.

671 177 What could the Aith Waryaghar, as Rifians in that stage of society, have done with a law code on a European style? Just what many of them did: to refuse to understand it, to cry out against seeing themselves obliged to suffer it, to place themselves in Divine hands so as not to awaken involvements in its powerful and intricate meshes and so as not to empty their money bags to fill it with official papers. This would not have been worth anything to them, and a good proof of this is the slight service which their religious code can offer them for their convenience when they see themselves obliged to have recourse to persisting in such improvisations.

671 Here the Rifian qanuns remain, unknown or ignored by investigators, so that up to the present (1939), as far as I know, they have not had the honor of seeing themselves reproduced integrally and faithfully; and it does not seem that they have attracted men of laws, whose criticism and science is of another and higher order than the impassioned observations and common and individual interpretation of a [648] tribal administrator, to them. They would not fail to reap many benefits for us, and the greatest ambition for Spain: the respect and esteem which the efforts of her sons creates by their contribution to the development and improvement of humanity and by the scrupulousness in the fulfillment of her international duties.[8]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

toward women and the exhortation which they conducted at all times with nobility and without wickedness.

On the other hand, we see that in contrast to their fellows of Aith Waryaghar, they neither list in detail nor excoriate cases of theft, a fact which might give rise to the notion that, among them, such actions were no longer considered pernicious. This is not the case at all. Poorer than the Aith Waryaghar, the Aith Siddat must preserve their property with greater zeal, from whence the right of legitimate defense against the aggressor who would try to seize something from them in a field or path, and the right to kill anyone who should penetrate their houses, the only place where they guard their possessions.[93]

The picking of fruit or vegetables in a field or garden in order that a poor man might eat has never been considered an offense by the Rifian, who puts waterjugs along the mountain paths for the thirsty traveler. In addition, the border market of the Aith Siddat and the fact that their geographical location lacks commercial roads are the reasons which, in our opinion, can explain the apparent oversight in listing actions which it is everywhere else desirable to curb.

10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF[94] BETWEEN TWO TRIBES (BNI BU FRAH AND BNI GMIL):[95]

A) Qanun:

Praise be to God. In the presence of the witness instrumental to the present act and on the day of the date (below) in Dar al-Zikhlif, there appeared for judgment in front of the above notary certain determined members of the Awlad Sa'id of Bani Bu Frah, of the Awlad Ghadura and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and his allies on the side of their brothers,

RS 631 619 687 648

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharumen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

RS 687 614 648

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

B) Commentary:

RS 671 648

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

alliance between the people of two distinct tribes, the Bni Bu Frah and the Bni Gmil, or, more specifically the clans of Agni and Ulah S'aid in the first tribe and their neighbor Bni Gmil[98], situated in the hollow of the upper basin of the Wad Bu Frah.

This alliance has as its objective more than just the defense of the border, as it points out, for it guarantees the lives and property of its constituents along the tribal frontiers, as these, in the Rif, do not have the stability which they do, for example, among European states, because purchasing of land, principally, renders them extremely mobile.[99]

These alliances (lfuf) have a significance and a mechanism among Rifians which we have already attempted to assess in the first part of this conference.

The liff, the origins of which are confusing and the development of which is complicated, is difficult for a European to understand; but nevertheless, it attracted us greatly as the center-piece in the life of the Rifian mountains.[100]

The way I view it, the liff is not a social institution, nor does it fit into the family institutions already considered with reference to the kin group; and this is because it binds together different social units, as in this instance, rather than individuals of different families.[101] The liff is more of a political institution and it represents in Rifian political life a complementary force of higher and intermittent action. Perhaps it may have been the real regulator (author's italics) of Rifian life, not coming into play until other forces became rarified or became disturbed. For this reason, to my way of thinking, it is so important.

616
613, survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616
182 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family, the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616
121 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

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614 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
619 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe. Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644
648 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] [443] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

67 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

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554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

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115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

312 571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312 675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of rivèrain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423 675 312 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

312 of the beds, the Rifians were unable to think in terms of large irrigation developments to lead the ditch to some small and dried-up meseta; for the minimal amount of these in the interior of the country and the longitude of the ditch which they would have needed did not compensate for the effort and expense they would have had nor the loathing they would have incurred (i.e. from neighboring segments of [182] the tribes) in order to maintain the ditch as such. Nature has in no way favored the Rifians, who must gain everything they own through • 648 their own efforts. The men, the new men, the protectors (i.e. the 312 Spanish administration) can and must do something to help them, and thus they wait for it and trust them, although up to the present time (1935), and in this connection, nothing other than prejudices and injuries have occurred, as happens with the turn of water which they have been made to cede to the Granja Agricola (i.e. model farm) of Imzuren and to a half-dozen Europeans, who, placing their minute holdings in dry rather than irrigable lands, have by virtue of more modern methods converted them into irrigated terrain; and these appear today like minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and adverse commentaries are just, logical and in no way flattering.[122] "Nubth nj-Makhzin", the "turn of the Government", as they say, which means that in order to sustain it a group of mkhaznis is necessary; and the salaries of these men added to those of the directors and work force are certainly far higher than the four bushels of vegetables which they manage to obtain and the unknown profits of other kinds which they do their best to make.

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423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
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648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day anghar.

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648 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
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[427] Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some miserable akhamnas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

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695 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

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(648) to all and a distribution which tradition has affirmed. These principal ditches carry water all year round, and at the present time their utilization seldom gives rise to incidents, as their usage has been stabilized and regulated, except in the case of the newly arrived Spanish irrigators, whose despondent attempts to improve their lands with fanciful enlargements, amplifications or regularizations of turns gave rise to the only disputes, aside from the ill-will of the local population already mentioned above.

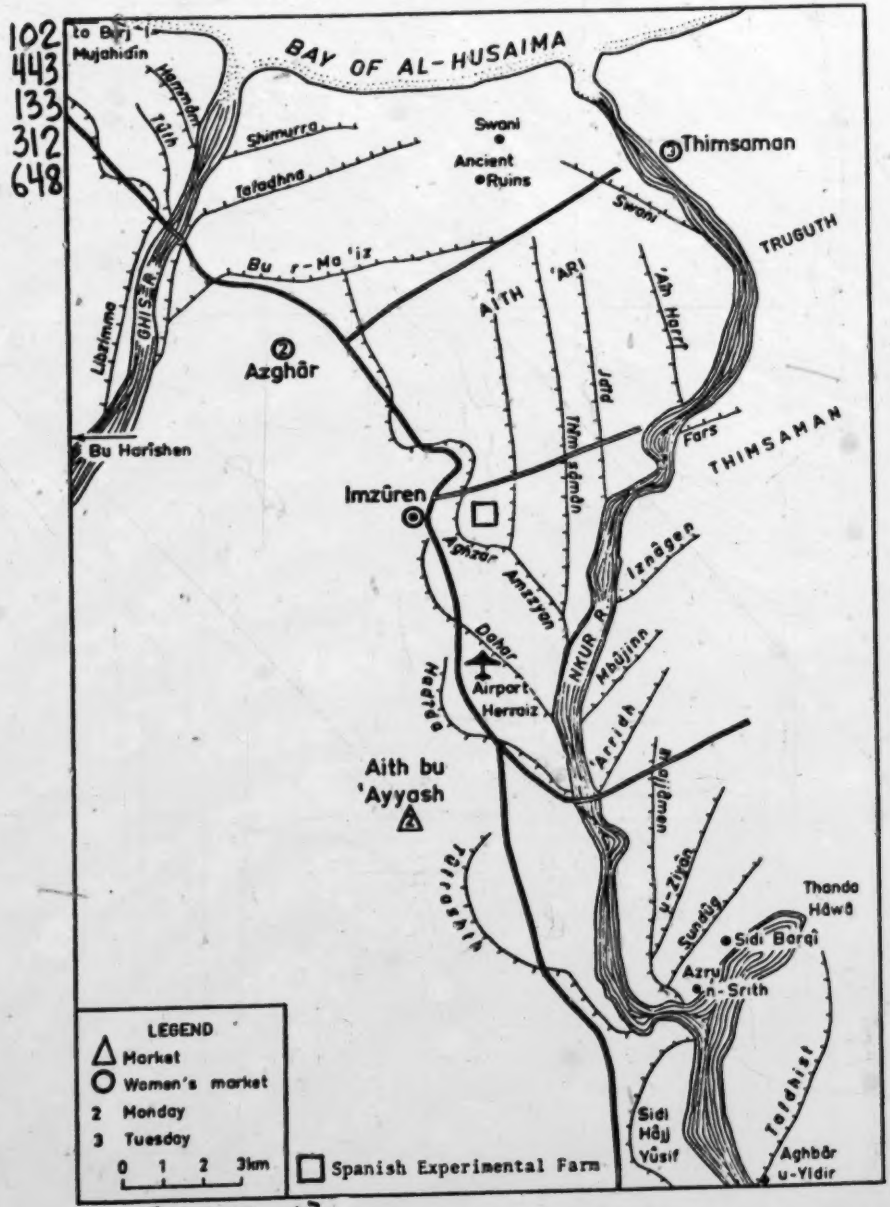
To be able to find something which leads us to the heart of the irrigation problem, it is necessary for us to look again among the individual agreements which are established by small groups of irrigators from both rivers, and descend through their steep beds to the widenings at their mouths, the journey over which has permitted us to observe the details of their irrigation system and to fix the principal idea which appears to preside over the distribution of the waters of both rivers into a diagram which we have made (see Irrigation Ditch Map of Plain of al-Husaima) for a better understanding and as a synthesis of their custom; and this is completed afterward with an outline of the network of ditches for each irrigated area and in these drawings is summarized our knowledge up to the present time.

312 The mechanism behind the distribution of irrigation water in Aith Waryaghar is simple, and up to the present time, it has satisfied local needs; it seems exact enough for the tribesmen, and so far they have shown no desire to modify it.

In the river beds there are certain points known to the people where the water always rises up; these are used as dams (uggug, pl.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [133] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable winter (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handi-work of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their trans-portation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change. 312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

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000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

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22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 118--Malaria, of the "paludism" variety, was a considerable problem in the Rif of 1939, of which Blanco writes. In 1952-53, however, the [648] Spanish administration conducted a vigorous DDT campaign, which made [744] considerable strides in stamping out this disease.

119--Twiza is also often translated as "corvee". In Rifian, the word is dhiwiza, pl. dhiwizawin.

[466] 120--Any individual who failed to show up to take part in a twiza organized for repairing a ditch (of which he was--or is--one of the users) had to pay a fine ranging from about three to five duros. This fine, however, was not and is not paid to the aquwwam, but is levied as r-haqq by the jma'th in question, whose members buy and consume tea and sugar with the proceeds.

121--Irrigation turns, after the lots have been drawn to establish the order in which they occur, continue in the same order until something happens to the ditch, i.e. if it is washed out by a storm or if it loses water completely; and then lots are drawn again.

122--In 1953, the Granja Agricola had two days out of an eight day irrigation turn cycle, from the Dharga Hadhidha, on the left bank of [613] the Nkur River. The other six days, the following lineages irrigated from the same ditch: Bu Srama (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen n Waddai (Isrihan, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Ihaddjiyen (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), r-'Aramth (affiliation unknown), Aith 'Alla (Imhawren, in the Aith 'Ari) and Aith Bu Minqadh (a "foreign element", supposedly from the Sus, in the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari).

123--An akhammas is a poor sharecropper who receives one-fifth of the grain harvest of a richer individual with whom he has an annual verbal contract.

124--Blanco handles in a most able manner the whole question of the relationship of irrigation turns to lineage structure. Although by no means 100% accurate in all instances, his equation of the usage of secondary ditches by dharfiqin and of the smaller tertiary branches by the ijujga, or lineage branches, is certainly correct enough and widespread enough, in the Plain of al-Husaima in particular (where the distribution of irrigation turns is a very complicated affair), to be taken as a rule of thumb.

125--This seems a strange remark, particularly because it is italicized; as only plowing and sowing takes place in winter in the Rif, while the harvest is taken in mid-summer. However, it is possibly intended in irony, to show the poverty of the region.

126--Blanco refers here, in somewhat poetic and rhapsodic fashion, to the great topographical difference between the arid mountains along the upper course of the Ghis and the fertile alluvial Plain of al-Husaima which characterizes much of its lower course.

127--This number may have been 55 in 1939; it was certainly much higher in 1961.

128--Blanco mistranslates l-Bzimma, and, by extension, al-Masimma, as "the renowned".

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[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most
[131] of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts,
[648] fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 16 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
• 648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided
619 into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
613 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
65 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

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[1] The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443 651 438 648 [735] [276] such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now draw a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

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[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Glaoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupa-
631 tion, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926
• 648 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized
[631] authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic
[178] system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

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[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

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MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

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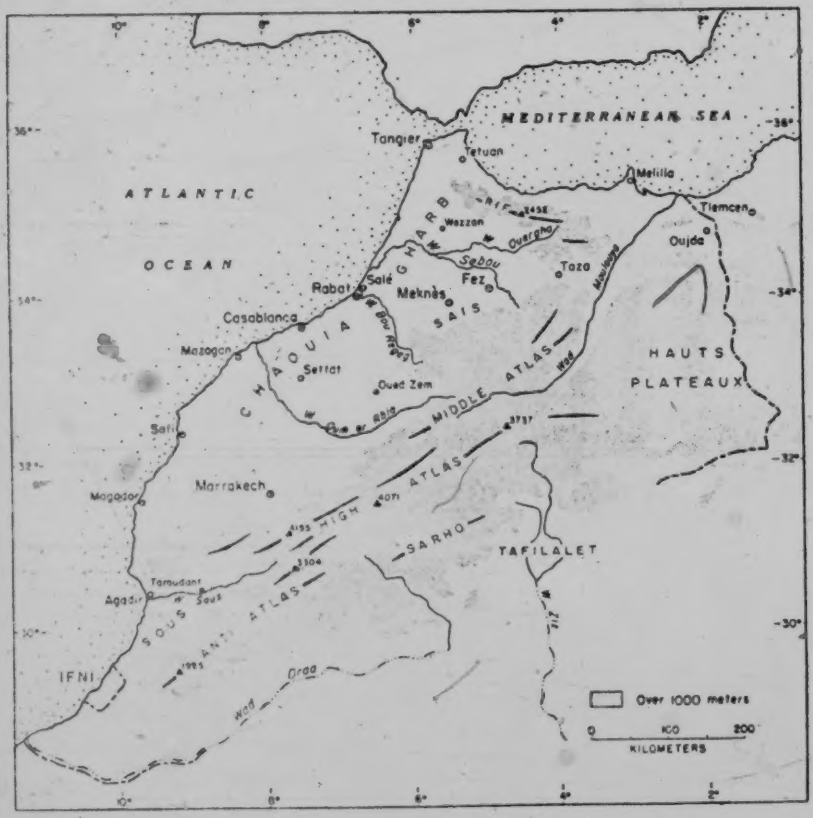

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Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

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7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.*

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes† and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.‡ Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar,§ quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

* In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

† *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

‡ Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35)

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

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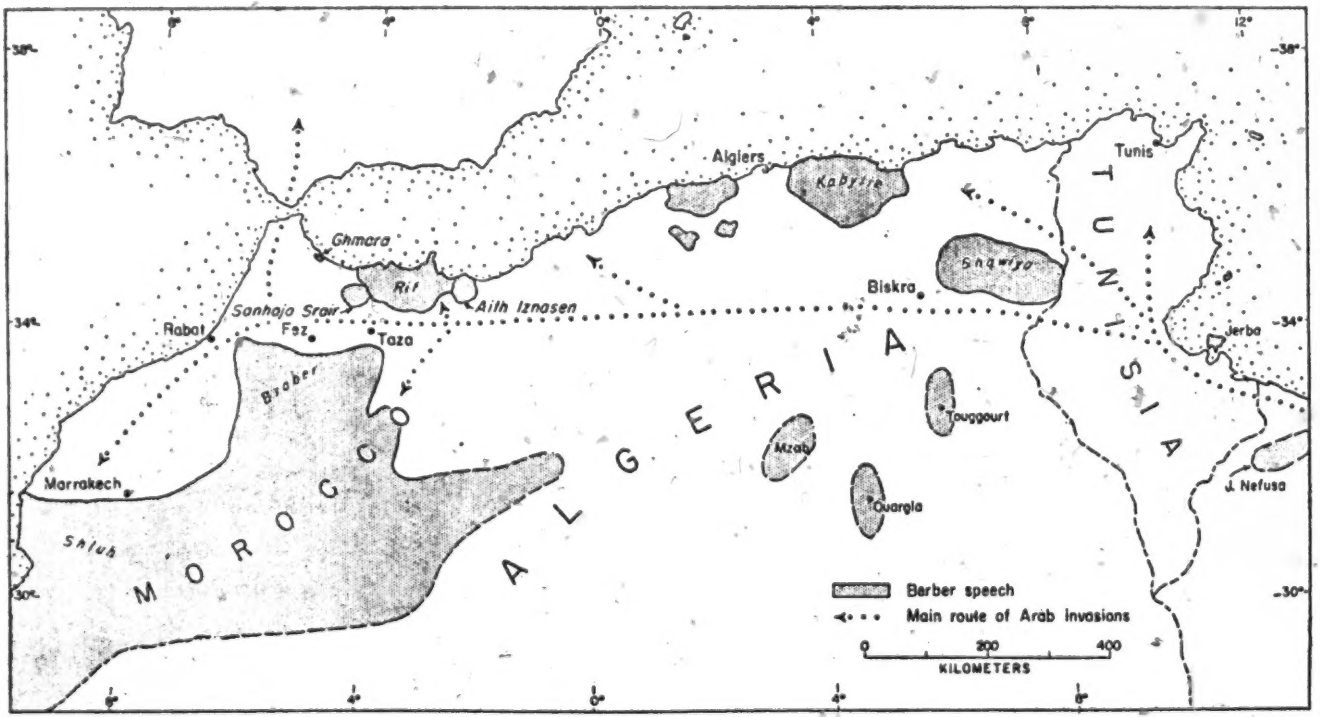

Fig. 9. North Africa; distribution of Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

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7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The Spanish experienced even greater difficulty in their zone. The area between Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert was occupied in 1919, ten years after the siege had been lifted at Melilla. But at this time the Rifian highlands were still under tribal rule and most of Jbala was controlled by the brigand Raisuli.[11] When it seemed that the Spanish would at last be able to begin large-scale offensive action, they were defeated by the Rifian forces of Abd al-Krim.[12] Thanks to French intervention, the Rifian rebellion was suppressed in 1926, but the impoverished Spaniards were unable to bring their protectorate under effective control. The northern zone was completely neglected during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Efforts to organize and develop the zone began in earnest only after the end of the Second World War, and these efforts were frustrated when Morocco regained its freedom in 1956.

These remarks are necessary to provide a proper focus for any image evoked by the expressions "French" or "Spanish" Morocco. Yet economic and cultural influence do not depend upon military occupation and the exercise of formal power. A decade before the Spanish gained control of Jbala, tribesmen of this province were wearing undergarments and waistcoats made of cotton spun at Manchester and Roubaix. When Sidi Muhammad ben Abdullah founded Mogador in 1765, he hoped that the new town would serve as a center for European traders and consuls. At the beginning of the twentieth century, eight ports—Tetuán (Río Martín), Tangier, Larache, Salé, Casablanca, Mazagan, Mogador, and Agadir—were open to foreign trade, and each received commodities destined to become important in Moroccan life. Tea, the foundation of Moroccan hospitality, was introduced by the English in the eighteenth century.[13] Tobacco came later, also as an article of European trade.[14] Spanish currency was widely circulated long before the Spanish themselves gained power. In his account of Peñón de Vélez, Leo Africanus relates that "Venetian galleys used to resort unto this isle, and to exchange their wares for the wares of the inhabitants, and sometimes to buy for ready cash."[15] Perhaps the best indication of the extent of European influence in northern Africa is the use by native peoples of a large number of European words.[16] The technical vocabulary of the fishermen on the Tunisian coast includes terms derived from Spanish, Catalan, various Italian dialects, and Maltese.[17]

[11] On Spain's difficulties with Raisuli, see W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1921).

[12] The Rifian uprising became a major revolutionary war on July 21–22, 1921, when a large force under General Silvestre was defeated at Anual. For a full account of the war, see W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

[13] A. Leriche, "De l'origine du thé au Maroc et au Sahara," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 15 (1952), 731–735; J.-L. Miège, "Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 71 (1956), 377–398.

[14] Berthold Laufer *et al.*, "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthro. Leaflets*, 29 (1930).

[15] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 519.

[16] Muhammad ibn Azzuz Hakim, *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los Marroquíes en el arabe vulgar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1933); Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, "Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 13 (1955), 61–97.

[17] A. Gateau, "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie," *Rev. Africaine*, 87 (1946), 140–183.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[a]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[b]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[c] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [a] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [b] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[c] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

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/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

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In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/, plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 131 'Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. [127] Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the [648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

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619 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to
131 Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

175 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Sen-
648 haja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

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175 648 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ʿalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 [174] It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

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619 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the
648 idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribu-
616 tion of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs.
648 The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

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634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

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634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The [614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

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619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [171] [681] [434] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Haji Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

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175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

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000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 631 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of 669 Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 631 669 648 /402 cont./ of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara, /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 631 554 [648] Four years suffiçed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the enthusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 631 182 648 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

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/403 cont./ mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

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IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who